Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe



# Empirical Approaches to Language Typology



EUROTYP 20-1

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Mouton de Gruyter Berlin · New York

# Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe

edited by Anna Siewierska

Mouton de Gruyter Berlin · New York 1998 Mouton de Gruyter (formerly Mouton, The Hague) is a Division of Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin.

@ Printed on acid-free paper which falls within the guidelines of the ANSI to ensure permanence and durability.

### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication-Data

Constituent order in the languages of Europe / edited by Anna Siewierska.

p. cm. – (Empirical approaches to language typology;20–1)

"The present volume is one of a series of nine volumes in which the results of the European research project "Typology of Languages in Europe" (EUROTYP) are published" — General pref.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 3-11-015152-9 (cloth; alk. paper)

1. Europe – Languages – Word order. 2. Typology (Linguistics) I. Siewierska, Anna. II. Typology of Languages in Europe (Project) III. Series.

P380.C56 1997

415-dc21

97-33231

CIP

#### Die Deutsche Bibliothek - Cataloging-in-Publication-Data

Constituent order in the languages of Europe / ed. by Anna Siewierska. — Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998 (Empirical approaches to language typology; 20: EUROTYP; 1)
ISBN 3-11-015152-9

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Typesetting and printing: Arthur Collignon GmbH, Berlin.

Binding: Lüderitz & Bauer, Berlin.

Printed in Germany.

## General preface

The present volume is one of a series of nine volumes in which the results of the European research project "Typology of Languages in Europe" (EUROTYP) are published. The initiative for a European project on language typology came from a proposal jointly submitted to the European Science Foundation (ESF) by Johannes Bechert (University of Bremen), Claude Buridant (University of Strasbourg), Martin Harris (University of Salford, now University of Manchester) and Paolo Ramat (University of Pavia).

On the basis of this proposal and following consultations with six experts the Standing Committee for the Humanities of the ESF decided to organize a workshop (Rome, January 1988), in which this idea was further explored and developed. The results of this workshop (published by Mouton, 1990) were sufficiently encouraging for the Standing Committee to appoint a preparatory committee and entrust it with the tasks of drawing up a preliminary proposal, of securing interest and participation from a sufficiently large number of scholars and of finding a suitable programme director. The project proposal formulated and sent out by Simon Dik (University of Amsterdam) as chair of this committee met with very supportive and enthusiastic reactions, so that the Standing Committee for the Humanities recommended the funding of a planning stage and the General Assembly of the ESF approved a year zero (1989) for an ESF Programme in Language Typology.

During this planning phase all major decisions concerning the management structure and the organisation of the work were taken, i. e. the selection of a programme director, the selection of nine focal areas around which the research was to be organized, the selection of a theme coordinator for each theme and the selection of the advisory committee.

The first task of the programme director was to draw up a definitive project proposal, which was supplemented with individual proposals for each theme formulated by the theme coordinators, and this new proposal became the basis of a decision by the ESF to fund the Programme for a period of five years (1990–1994).

Language typology is the study of regularities, patterns and limits in crosslinguistic variation. The major goal of EUROTYP was to study the patterns and limits of variation in nine focal areas: pragmatic organization of discourse, constituent order, subordination and complementation, adverbial constructions, tense and aspect, noun phrase structure, clitics and word prosodic systems in the languages of Europe. The decision to restrict the investigation to the languages of Europe was imposed for purely practical and pragmatic reasons. In the course of the project an attempt was made, however, to make as much sense of this restriction as possible, by characterizing the specific features of European languages against the background of non-European languages and by identifying areal phenomena (*Sprachbünde*) within Europe.

More specifically, the goals of the Eurotyp project included the following:

- to contribute to the analysis of the nine domains singled out as focal areas, to assess patterns and limits of cross-linguistic variation and to offer explanations of the patterns observed.
- to bring linguists from various European countries and from different schools or traditions of linguistics together within a major international project on language typology and in doing so create a new basis for future cooperative ventures within the field of linguistics. More than 100 linguists from more than 20 European countries and the United States participated in the project.
- to promote the field of language typology inside and outside of Europe. More specifically, an attempt was made to subject to typological analysis a large number of new aspects and domains of language which were uncharted territory before.
- to provide new insights into the specific properties of European languages and thus contribute to the characterization of Europe as a linguistic area (Sprachbund).
- to make a contribution to the methodology and the theoretical foundations of typology by developing new forms of cooperation and by assessing the role of inductive generalization and the role of theory construction in language typology. We had a further, more ambitious goal, namely to make a contribution to linguistic theory by uncovering major patterns of variation across an important subset of languages, by providing a large testing ground for theoretical controversies and by further developing certain theories in connection with a variety of languages.

The results of our work are documented in the nine final volumes:

Pragmatic Organization of Discourse in the Languages of Europe (edited by G. Bernini)

Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe (edited by A. Siewierska)

Subordination and Complementation in the Languages of Europe (edited by N. Vincent)

Actance et Valence dans les langues de l'Europe (edited by J. Feuillet)

Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe (edited by J. van der Auwera)

Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe (edited by Ö. Dahl)

Noun Phrase Structure in the Languages of Europe (edited by F. Plank)

Clitics in the Languages of Europe (edited by H. van Riemsdijk)
Word Prosodic Systems in the Languages of Europe. (edited by H. van der
Hulst)

In addition, the EUROTYP Project led to a large number of related activities and publications, too numerous to be listed here.

At the end of this preface, I would like to express my profound appreciation to all organizations and individuals who made this project possible. First and foremost, I must mention the European Science Foundation, who funded and supported the Programme. More specifically, I would like to express my appreciation to Christoph Mühlberg, Max Sparreboom and Geneviève Schauinger for their constant and efficient support, without which we would not have been able to concentrate on our work. I would, furthermore, like to thank my colleague and assistant, Martin Haspelmath, and indeed all the participants in the Programme for their dedication and hard work. I finally acknowledge with gratitude the crucial role played by Johannes Bechert and Simon Dik in getting this project off the ground. Their illness and untimely deaths deprived us all of two of the project's major instigators.

Berlin, September 1995

Ekkehard König, Programme Director

## **Preface**

The present volume is the product of five years of collaborative research on the topic of constituent order carried out from the beginning of 1990 to the end of 1994 by the members of the Constituent Order group of the European Science Foundation Programme in Language Typology (EUROTYP). The group was formed by eleven linguists from nine countries, namely: Dik Bakker, Matthew Dryer, John Hawkins, Anders Holmberg, Katalin Kiss, Beatrice Primus, Jan Rijkhoff, Anna Siewierska, Maggie Tallerman, Yakov Testelec and Maria Vilkuna. These linguists were brought together by their common interest in the factors underlying constituent order variation rather than by an allegiance to a single theoretical orientation or research methodology. They include formalists and functionalists of various persuasions, experts on individual languages or groups of languages and language typologists. Given the diversity of backgrounds of the members of the group, instead of engaging in fruitless efforts to define a single line of research agreeable to all, from the outset we opted to pursue our own individual research interests while drawing on each others expertise, exchanging ideas, sharing data and testing hypotheses. Though this volume does not reflect the full range of issues that were discussed by the group in the course of the project, it does present several different interpretations of the factors underlying constituent order variation and divergent conceptions of the role and nature of language typology.

In conducting our research we have benefitted from the knowledge of many scholars a large number of whom were also directly involved in the ESF project, but by no means all. Much of the language data for our research originated from a 26-page word order questionnaire compiled by the members of the group. We are particularly indebted to the linguists who found the time to fill in this rather extensive questionnaire, namely: Tor A. Afarli, Jurij Anduganov, G. M. Awbery, Emanuel Banfi, Giovanni M. G. Belluscio, Giuliano Bernini, Vit Bubenik, Ines Loi Corvetto, Helma Dik, Karen Ebert, Anna Gavarró, Inge Genee, Riho Grünthal, Martin Haspelmath, Toomas Help, Mateja Hočevar, Lisbeth Falster Jakobsen, Jan de Jong, Jóhannes Gísli Jónsson, Paula Kokkonen, Chryssoula Lascaratou, Ruta Marcinkeviciene, Belén López Meirama, Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera, Christian T. Petersen, Dónall P. O Baoill, Eusebio Osa, Bernard Oyharçabal, Sirkka Saarinen, Tapani Salminen, Merja Salo, Pekka Sammallahti, Gerjan van Schaaik, Suzanne Schlyter, Irja Seurujärvi-Kari, H. A. Sigurðsson, Svillen Stanchev, Janig Stephens, Pirkko Suihkonen, Ingrid Thelin, Ludmila Uhlířová, Enric Vallduví, Martina Vanhove, Bibinur Zaguljajeva, Tomaso Zorzutti and Bostjan Zupaničič. The individual members of the

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group also made use of other questionnaires geared to elicit more fine tuned word order data of relevance to their individual research. The respondents to these questionnaires are gratefully acknowledged in the individual articles. A considerable amount of the data obtained from the various questionnaires is stored in computerized form in the Amsterdam Data Base, the development of which has been a major preoccupation of Dik Bakker. Though some of the data that we have amassed yet needs to be processed, we hope to make all the information that the linguistic community has shared with us generally available, in computerized form, in the years to come.

Working with a group of highly motivated and dedicated scholars for the past five years has been a highly rewarding experience. I would like to take this opportunity to express my thanks to the members of the Constituent Order group for five years of stimulating discussions, cooperation, support and friendship. Two of our meetings were conducted jointly with the members of the theme group 'The pragmatic organization of discourse' and several sessions were enlivened by guests from other theme groups and linguists from outside the project, namely: Kersti Börjars, Bill Croft, David Gil, Chryssolula Lascaratou, Christian Lehmann, Johanna Nichols, Frans Plank and H. A. Sigurðsson. Their contributions to our discussions are gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to extend my thanks to the Scientific Advisory Committee of the ESF project headed by the late Simon Dik and, especially to the project director Ekkehard König and his assistant Martin Haspelmath who have been particulary generous with their help and advice both in professional and personal matters. Much of the pleasure that we have derived from the project was due to the organizational skills and understanding of the ESF personnel in Strasbourg, most notably Max Sparreboom and his secretary Geneviève Schauinger whom I would also like to warmly thank.

Lancaster, 28th August 1995

Anna Siewierska

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# **Abbreviations**

ABE	abessive case	F	feminine gender
ABL	ablative case	FIN	finite
ABS	absolutive case	FOC	focus
ACC	accusative	FUT	future
ADESS	adessive case		
ADP	adposition	GEN	:
ADJ	adjective	GEN	genitive case, possessed
ADJP	adjective phrase	GER	gerund
AGR	agreement		
AFF	affective	I	inflection
ALL	allative case	ILL	illative
AOR	aorist	IMP	imperative
ART	article	IMPF	imperfective
ASP	aspect	<b>IMPR</b>	impersonal
AUX	auxiliary	IND	indicative
11071	uumur)	INDEF	indefinite
0.		INESS	inessive
CL	class marker	INF	infinitive
CLF	classifier	INT	intensifier
CLT	clitic	INST	instrumental
CMP	completive	IP	inflection phrase
CMPR	comparative	IPFV	imperfective
COM	comitative case	IPS	impersonal passive
COMP	complementizer, complement	IO	indirect object
COND	conditional		
CNJ	conjunction	* **	1
CONV	converb	LAT	lative
COP	copula	LOC	locative
CORR	correlative		
CP	complementizer phrase	M	masculine gender
CTR	contrast		
		N	noun or nominal
DAT	dative	NEG	negative element
DEC	declarative	NFIN	nonfinite
DEF	definte	NOM	nominative
DEM	demonstrative	NP	noun phrase
DES	desiderative	NT	neuter
DESCR	descriptive	NUM	numeral
DET	determiner	IVOIVI	numerai
DIST	distal		
DIST	distai	O	object
		OBL	oblique
ELA	elative case	ОВЈ	object
<b>EMPH</b>	emphatic	OBV	obviative
ERG	ergative (case)	OPT	optative

## xvi Abbreviations

P	patient	R	recipient
PART	participle	REL	relative
PASS	passive	RESTR	restrictive
PFV	perfective	RFL	reflexive
PL	plural		
POSS	possessive	S	subject
POST	postposed	SBJ	subject
PNCT	punctual	SG	singular
PP	prepositional phrase	SPEC	specifier
PRED	predicative	SUB	subordinator
PREDP	predicative phrase	SUBESS	subessive
PREV	preverb	SUBJ	subjunctive
PREP	preposition	0025	July 11111111
PRF	perfective		
PRO	pronoun	T	tense
PROG	progressive	TNS	tense
PROX	proximate	TOP	topic
PRS	present	TRNSF	transformative
PRTV	partitive		
PST	past	V	verb
PTL	particle	VP	verb phrase
Q	question particle, question	1	1st person
-	word	2	2nd person
QUEST	question	3	3rd person